1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

been used only once, with no sense of real loss to the owner. It does not burden the native with "excess baggage." It is easier to make a new one than to keep an old one.

The use of the pandanus sail has become general in the north. It is easily constructed and only a few hours are needed for its manufacture. It is a labor-saving device, and any such invention is deeply appreciated by the leisure-loving blacks. It, too, fits into the general scheme; no new technique was needed for its manufacture. The simple twining method used in the construction of the native basket or mat, with only slight modification, made an excellent pandanus leaf sail, the only difference being in the size of the strands used.

The most difficult element in the learning process that would enable a man to sail a boat rather than paddle it was the actual sailing itself. As has been said, the manufacture of a mast and sail is simple; but to learn to sail a canoe with a large pandanus sail, to adjust it to the vagaries of winds and tides, and, in all, to learn the job of a sailor man, undoubtedly took a long time. From what the writer has seen of the native's lack of interest in any activity that was not pleasurable, it seems obvious to him that if the native had not had a keen interest in the sea and a strong wanderlust, both of which the dugout canoe and its mast and sail definitely satisfied, Murngin civilization would never have adopted this whole complex.

The Malay pipe is a small, straight stick with its center bored out; at about four inches from the distal end a hole is made in the side of the pipe which connects with the central chamber; this latter hole is lined with a small piece of tin and forms the bowl of the pipe. Bamboo or cane is generally used, or a small tree whose central core has been eaten out by termites. The Malays introduced both the use and the manufacture of the tobacco pipe during the period in which they traded with the aborigines. Although the aborigines know that they acquired the pipe from the Malays, they believe they practiced smoking before this time, and point to the fact that there are several native tobaccos.[11] Whether this is true or not it is impossible to say at the present time, but nearly all the evidence seems to point to the introduction of smoking into Australia from a Malay source. However, if the latter is true, the natives quickly learned how to use native substitutes after they could no longer obtain Malay tobacco.

The substitution of the iron tomahawk (brought in as an article of trade by the Malays) for the stone axe can be understood, since the iron implement is a far more capable instrument, and—a more important reason—the tomahawk was easily acquired and it was not necessary to learn

[11] The Murngin insist that they had a native tobacco before the Macassar introduced the variety they use at the present time. The leaves were macerated and wrapped in paper bark and smoked as a cigarette, or put in a cane which had a hole in one end much like the Queensland type of pipe.

142
291
342
516
276

PLATE 3A. Wet-season bark hut, Arnhem Land

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PLATE 3B. Painting a design on bark, Oenpelli

Whereas the upper panels deal with the sea and seashore, the lower two deal with the land. In the central panel is the woman, *Njinpili-lingou*, a bark dish on her head, standing on the top of a sand-dune near Cape Shield. The rectangles on either side of her are nearby sand-dunes. In panel *a* the five cockatoos in flight were disturbed by *Njinpili-lingou*. There are also five emus in the same panel. Their tracks are shown on panel *c*.

The Man, Wanatjai

Plate 95B is the painting of an aboriginal, *Wanatjai*, with a long Malay smoking pipe in each hand.[92] On the upper edge of the painting are four steel axes, and on the left-hand side two steel knives. *Wanatjai* is wearing a belt. On his chest is a design of triangles[93] which he brought back from Macassar with him.

The Woman, Mahwulwi

In the early times a pregnant ancestral woman, *Mahwulwi*, accompanied by a little rat, *nik-nik* (the woman's dog), went into a mangrove swamp at Gunumungu, on the north side of Blue Mud Bay, to collect oysters. While filling her carrying-bag with the oysters, she was swept off her feet by a strong tide. She tried to swim to land, but was drowned because the tide was too strong and she too heavily pregnant. The little rat, *nik-nik*,[94] however, was able to swim to safety.

Mahwulwi's body is now a large tree in the mangrove swamps at Gunumungu. On the trunk of this tree there are marks indicating three maximum water levels: spring tides, usual tides and tides when, during the wet season, the fresh-water from the rivers floods the mangrove swamps.[95]

Plate 95D depicts *Mahwulwi* in the mangrove swamp at Gunumungu, near Blue Mud Bay, where she used to collect oysters. The cross-hatched panels *a*, *a*, indicate the fresh-water from the river running among the mangrove trees and meeting the tide coming up from the bay. As mentioned in the myth, when the tide ebbs it leaves dark lines on the trunks of the trees.

Muruma, the Fisherman

In early times *Muruma*, a noted fisherman, lived with his wife beside a stream called Bamui, near the totemic place of Jalboa, north-east of Yirrkalla.

One day *Muruma*, having speared many fish, put them on the fire to cook. He was resting under a tree when one of the *Bukalatji* (enemies of *Muruma*) paid him a visit, saying that he and his wife were hungry, having just paddled all the way from Dambalia (Bremer Island). Little suspecting treachery, *Muruma* gave his cooked fish to the *Bukalatji*, who, after having eaten them, rose to go.

92. Interpretation, F. M. Setzler.
93. This is the same as the *jiritja* cloud symbol of Cape Arnhem (Fig. 63H). It is also present in the art of the Celebes, Fig. 63R.
94. See bark painting of the rat, *nik-nik*, and *Bourrgauvili's* dog, *dulaiuja*, Pl. 121A.
95. These marks are indicated on the carved wooden figure of *Mahwulwi*, Pl. 133C, D.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OII7 Murngin OII7

an axe he used in the construction of his house. The six vertical lines in panel *a* are the posts of the house, made from local timber, and the cross-hatching between them, walls of plaited bamboo. The transverse panels *b*, *b*, are rafters of the roof (rectangles *c*, *c*) which were thatched with the leaves of an unidentified palm.

The three rectangles at *d* are wells the *Baijini* men dug, and the footmarks in the central vertical panel, those made by the men during their house-building. The *Baijini* made their fire outside the house. Their pipes were similar to those used by Europeans.[79]

Spirit People

The spirit people, or *Mokoi* (the *dua* moiety call them *Wuna*) all appear to have been living people. At the present time, they pay occasional visits to the land of the living, where they spend most of their time in the jungles. Although the aborigines are somewhat afraid of the *Mokoi*, as indeed the *Mokoi* are of human beings,[80] I did not personally collect any evidence that they were ill-disposed toward living people. Warner,[81] however, refers to their malignant nature. We know little about the *Mokoi* and hope that later research will reveal more fully their place in the life and beliefs of the aborigines of north-eastern Arnhem Land.

The Mokoi, Rangi-rangi and Kultana, of Port Bradshaw

During creation times two men, *Rangi-rangi* and *Kultana*,[82] both of them expert fishermen, came to Port Bradshaw to spear dugong. The day was so windy that the spray from the waves beating against the sides of the canoe rose into the sky, causing heavy thunder-clouds to form and rain to fall. This originated the first wet season. As soon as this happened the stingrays, heavily pregnant, travelled to the mangrove swamps to give birth to their young among the roots of the trees. Since that time the young stingrays are always born among the roots of the mangroves at the beginning of the wet season.

The man, *Kultana*, is now one of the *Mokoi* who sometimes lives at Port Bradshaw. It is his duty to assist the spirits of the dead during their journey from earth to the *jintja* heaven, Nalkuna (p. 331).

Plate 109E, F, is the obverse and reverse sides of a painted paddle.

On panel *a* are the two men, *Rangi-rangi* and *Kultana*, in their canoe, which has since been transformed into a paper-bark tree. The cross-hatching below the canoe symbolizes the rough seas and that above the canoe, the clouds created by the spray from the waves. On panel *b* is the dugong, *bahwakmeri*, with a dugong spear on either side. In panel *c* the two rain-clouds were created by the spray from the sides of the canoe. These same clouds are also painted in panel *c*.

79. See painted pipe, Pl. 128A.
80. See myths of *Rangi-rangi* and *Kultana*, p. 346, and *Birikui*, p. 348.
81. Warner (1937), p. 73.
82. *Kultana* is now the head man of the *jintja* heaven, Nalkuna, p. 329.

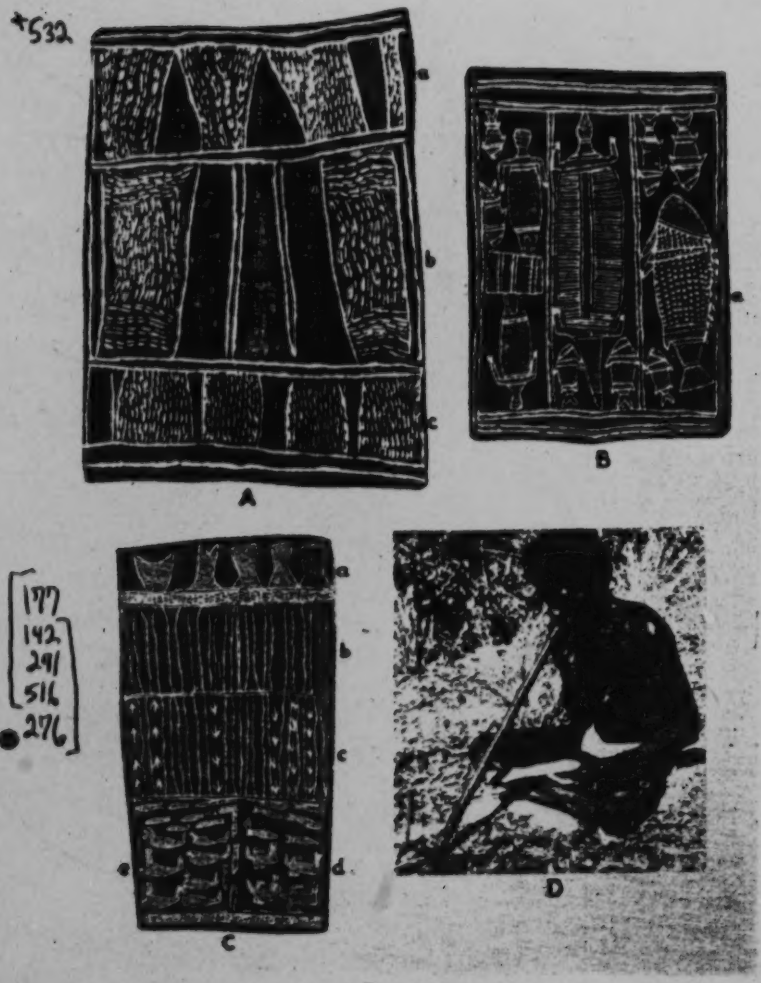

PLATE 124. Bark paintings, Yirrkalla

A The man' Boriota, at Bartalumba B Port Bradshaw C A mangrove swamp
D An aboriginal smoking a Malay pipe

THE ART OF YIRRKALLA

The Saw-fish, Nalgan

Plate 127C belongs to the saw-fish, *nalgan*, totem of Milingimbi. Four saw-fish are depicted, two in the upper panel at *a*, *a*, and two in the lower at *b*, *b*. In the lower panel a fresh-water tortoise is shown between the tails of the saw-fish. Scattered throughout the drawing are small star-like designs which represent the star-fish, *midjala*. These fish provide food for the tortoises. The oval designs between the star-fish represent seaweed, *djiwul*, and the dots, its fruit. The two fish on the right side of the upper panel are called by the native name of *wungulbu*, and the three transverse cross-hatched panels, *c*, *c*, *c*, are sand-bars near the totemic place. There are three flying fish, *digar*, at the upper edge of the bark painting.

The Turtle, Wilira

The totemic place of the turtle, *wilira*, pictured in Pl. 127D, is an island called Nulguniu-nuna, situated north-west of Elcho Island. The triangular patterns occupying most of the surface of the bark painting are clouds created by the three turtles spraying water into the sky. Two king-fish are shown in the clouds, one at *a* and one at *b*.

2. SMOKING PIPES AND MYTHS

As far as I am aware the long smoking pipe, Fig. 59A, B, is used in Australia only by the aborigines of Arnhem Land and the adjacent islands.

Tobacco smoking was introduced by the Malays within the last century or so when they visited Australia during their periodical journeys to collect trepang and pearl shell, though the *Baijini* myth suggests that the aborigines may have become acquainted with tobacco at an even earlier date. After the Commonwealth Government, about 1910, prohibited the Malays from coming to Australia the aborigines continued to use the Malay pipe, smoking either a substitute or European tobacco, occasionally issued by white traders and missionaries.

In general, the pipes[70] are made in a few minutes from the pithy stem of a shrub (*Gurttarda speciosa*). The aboriginal removes the pith with a thin stick, plugs one end with bark, cuts a hole in the side an inch or more from the end, fits a bowl[71] saved from the old pipe, and, except for the engraving, the pipe is complete.

The pipes I collected are about an inch in diameter and varied in length from eight inches at Groote Eylandt to thirty inches at Yirrkalla. Fig. 59B. It was necessary to have a longer pipe stem at Yirrkalla so that there would be sufficient room for the totemic designs. In use, Pl. 124D, the aboriginal takes a

70. The bowls of the early pipes were made of tin-plate and carefully treasured. Since the last war, most pipe bowls are made from shortened cartridge cases. As mentioned earlier, the aborigines recognize the difference between the *Baijini* pipes, which are similar to those used by Europeans, and those of the Malays. The *Baijini* were a mysterious group of fair-skinned people who once camped at Port Bradshaw, myth, p. 333.

71. Warner (1937), p. 461, refers to the smoking pipes of the Murngin, near Milingimbi, and Elkin and the Berndts (1950), p. 102, to those at Yirrkalla.

[Text continues on p. 391]

THE ART OF YIRRKALLA

The Saw-fish, Nalgun

Plate 127C belongs to the saw-fish, *nalgun*, totem of Milingimbi. Four saw-fish are depicted, two in the upper panel at *a*, *a*, and two in the lower at *b*, *b*. In the lower panel a fresh-water tortoise is shown between the tails of the saw-fish. Scattered throughout the drawing are small star-like designs which represent the star-fish, *midjala*. These fish provide food for the tortoises. The oval designs between the star-fish represent seaweed, *djiwul*, and the dots, its fruit. The two fish on the right side of the upper panel are called by the native name of *wungulbu*, and the three transverse cross-hatched panels, *c*, *c*, *c*, are sand-bars near the totemic place. There are three flying fish, *digar*, at the upper edge of the bark painting.

The Turtle, Wilira

The totemic place of the turtle, *wilira*, pictured in Pl. 127D, is an island called Nulgunin-numa, situated north-west of Elcho Island. The triangular patterns occupying most of the surface of the bark painting are clouds created by the three turtles spraying water into the sky. Two king-fish are shown in the clouds, one at *a* and one at *b*.

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71. Warner (1937), p. 461, refers to the smoking pipes of the Murngin, near Milingimbi, and Elkin and the Berndts (1950), p. 102, to those at Yirrkalla.

Text continues on p. 391

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 O117 Murngin O17

pinch of tobacco, presses it tightly into the bowl, and lights it either with a coal from the camp-fire, or a burning twig. He fills his mouth and lungs with tobacco smoke, then passes the pipe to a companion, who does likewise. This usually exhausts the supply of tobacco, but if there is any left the pipe is either passed to another aboriginal or back to the first man.

Most of the smoking pipes at both Groote Eylandt and Yirrkalla are covered with engravings. Those at Groote Eylandt had herring-bone patterns which did not appear to have any specific meaning, but those at Yirrkalla and Milingimbi all bore complex designs, most of them illustrating totemic stories belonging to the sacred life of the men. Because of this, the owners kept the stems wrapped in paper-bark, Fig. 59A, so that the decorations could not be seen by the women when the pipes were used in the main camp. The bark painting of *Wanatjai*, Pl. 95B, shows him holding a Malay pipe in either hand.

As the engravings on the Yirrkalla pipes entailed considerable time and effort, the aborigines were not always willing to part with them. They allowed me, however, to make rubbings of the patterns. These are reproduced in the text figures.

The Crocodile, Baron

This pipe, Fig. 59C, is associated with a *pritja* totem place of the crocodiles, *baron*, which is on the Kariatpa[72] swamp, Caledon Bay.

The diamond-shaped designs in panel *c* of Fig. 59C are the swamps at Blue Mud Bay. The next panel shows the crocodiles, *b*, lying in the swamps at Kariatpa. Round the reptiles, the designs *a*, *a* represent swamp grass and crocodile eggs.[73] The two lines of lozenge-shaped designs at *d*, *d* are the Kariatpa swamps.

The Fresh-water Tortoise, Mimala

When the fresh-water tortoise, *Mimala*, and his wife were human beings they lived at Calalaiibai, a totemic place on the banks of a fresh-water stream flowing into the sea south of Milingimbi.[74] One day the fresh-water tortoise made a carved human figure, *mimalatuna*, which he carried a long way inland and hid in a sacred place where no women could see it. Being tired after his journey, *Mimala* laid down and went to sleep. On waking up he found he was particularly warm and comfortable, for his body had sunk so deeply in the soft mud that he was almost covered. He saw, too, that the surrounding country was covered with swamp grass and rushes, interspersed with many streams of fresh water. *Mimala*, pleased with the warmth of the mud and the close proximity of so much grass and water, changed himself, and later his wife, into fresh-water tortoises.

From that time the tortoise, *mimala*, has lived either in the fresh-water streams and swamps or the grass that grows near by.

72. Myth, p. 366.
73. These are similar to the *mata* design of the *gumaitj* language group of Caledon Bay.
74. See log coffin, Pl. 105B, and bark paintings, Pl. 119A, 120A.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

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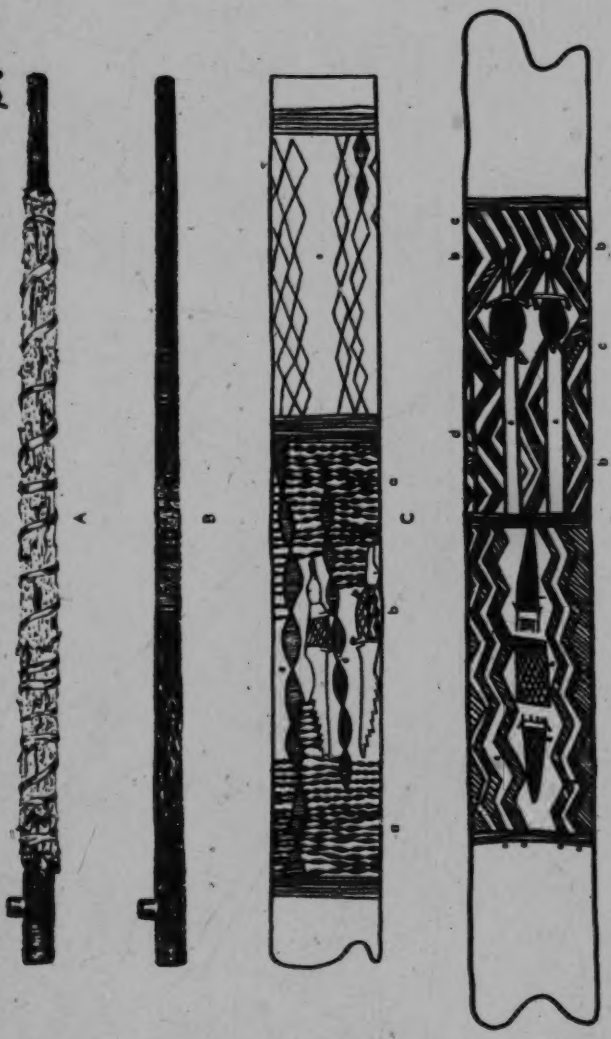

FIG. 59. Engraved smoking pipes, Yirrkalla
A, B Smoking pipes, wrapped and unwrapped C The crocodile, barou D The tortoise, mimala

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 Oil7 Murngin Oil7

The design, Fig. 59D, deals with the totemic place at Calataibi of the fresh-water tortoise, *mimala*. On the upper half of the pipe *Mimala* and his wife are resting on two sand-bars, *a*, *a*, in the stream. The shaded zigzag lines, *b*, *b*, represent the swamp grass and *c*, *c*, the plain spaces between, the running water. The heavy black line, *d*, indicates a tree which has fallen into the stream. On the left-hand, the upper and lower figures *f* and *g*, in the central panel, are two cat-fish, *mambira*, the fleshy tentacles from the mouth of the fish being diagrammatically represented. Between the fish at *h* is a fruit, *nalpu* (presumably that of a pandanus palm), which grows along the river bank. The shaded zigzag areas, *e*, *e*, on the left, indicate the swamp grass where the tortoise lays her eggs; *c*, *c*, are streams of running water.

Wild Honey, Koko. The Male Ancestor, Jarapang

The male ancestor, *Jarapang*, of *koko*, the wild honey totem, belongs to the *dua* moiety. His totem place is in a hollow tree at Macuti, on the Koolatong River.

The diamond-shaped figures, *a*, *a*, on Fig. 60A symbolize the honey in the comb and the dots, *b*, *b*, the pupae of the young bees. The torpedo-like figure, *c*, at the upper right, is the wild bee ancestor, *Jarapang*, resting in his hollow tree at Macuti, represented by the long rectangle, *d*.

Wild Honey, Koko. The Female Ancestress, Lirawar

The *dua* female wild honey ancestress, *Lirawar*, lived with her husband, *Jarapang*, in a hollow tree near the Macuti swamp on the Koolatong River.

Fig. 60B represents a hive of wild honey; the chevron designs, *c*, *c*, occupying most of the pipe stem, represent the honey in the cells. The transverse bands, *a*, *a*, indicate the bee bread and the pupae of young bees; the other transverse bands, *b*, *b*, the hard wax.[75]

The Thunder-man, Bolngo

Bolngo is a mythical thunder-man who lives at Wulwulwi, near the mouth of the Koolatong River. At the beginning of the wet season, *Bolngo* climbs to the top of a high paper-bark tree and urinates. When *Bolngo's* urine splashes on the ground it goes into the sky to form clouds. The rain from these clouds makes the water flow in the stream at Wulwulwi.[76]

On Fig. 60C, panel *a* represents the paper-bark tree on which *Bolngo* stands; *b* is *Bolngo* urinating; *c* is the urine splashing on the ground; and *d* is *Bolngo's* camp at Wulwulwi. The two parallel panels, *e*, *e*, represent the bed of the river, Wulwulwi; the sloping lines, the water pouring into the river from subsidiary

75. This wax is used extensively for mounting stone implements, repairing utensils and moulding animal figures.

76. *Bolngo* is a parallel myth to that of *Tjambuwal* at Yirrkalla. See bark painting, Pl. 90B and 93B, also myth, p. 267.

*173
*532
276

FIG. 60. Engraved smoking pipes, Yirrkalla

A Male wild honey, Jarapang B Female wild honey, Lirawar C The Thunder-man, Bolngo D The man, Laitjun, and his fish-trap

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 Oll7 Murngin Oll7

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streams during the heavy rain; and the parallel lines, *f*, *f*, rocks and sand-bars in the bed of the river.

The Man, Laitjun, and his Fish Trap

In the early days, a man called *Laitjun*[77] made a fish trap on the Koolatong River, in which to catch *paipinga*, a fresh-water fish. The aborigines still use the same kind of fish trap.

773* 276

Fig. 61 shows the present construction of the trap. Across the Koolatong River the aborigines constructed a weir by driving sticks into the bed of the river, leaving an opening in the centre. The space between the sticks was filled with branches, grass and earth, and across the opening an almost submerged paper-bark raft was anchored. When fish are needed the aborigines assemble at the trap and, by running about and beating the water downstream, drive the fish toward the opening. When they reach the partly submerged raft, the fish endeavour to jump over it, but become stranded on top, where they are caught.

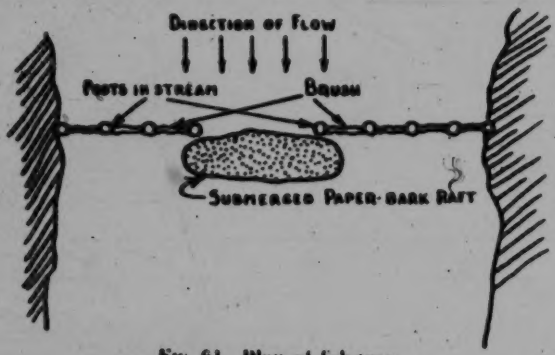


Fig. 61. Plan of fish-trap

On Fig. 60D the parallel lines, *a*, *a*, *a*, are the sticks driven into the bed of the stream and the diamond-shaped patterns the water running between them. The aborigines explained that they would have included the raft in the pipe engraving, but there was not sufficient room. The four groups of parallel lines, *b*, *b*, are trees fallen across the river.

The Fresh-water Goannas, Djerilka

The mythical fresh-water goannas, *djerilka*, lived in a totemic waterhole on the Cato River, near Melville Bay.

773* 532* 278 923

The panel *a* in Fig. 62A is the totemic waterhole of the *djerilka*, the herring-bone design symbolizing the water. In panel *b* are the male and female goannas. The female on the top is leaving the waterhole in panel *a*, and the

77. See myth of *Banaitja* and *Laitjun*, p. 279.

3; Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 O117 Muragin O117

*773 *532 symbolizing its wake. Designs *b*, *b* are two trees at the totemic place, the trans formed bodies of the fish, *bununba*. The four ovals in panel *c* are masses of eggs belonging to the same fish; they are now sand-banks. In panel *f*, the line of footprints at *d* are those of *Ngulamung* as he walked to the swamps to collect lily bulbs, and at *e* those he made on his return journey. At *g*, *g* are the bags in which he cooked the bulbs, and *h*, *h*, the cooked bulbs.

In the lower panel, *j*, the lozenge-shaped figures are the bulbs of the lily, *jouku*, and *n*, their roots. The triangular patterns along the upper edge of panel *f* represent a sharp-edged grass growing in the swamp which cuts the legs of the aborigines; *k* is the toredo worm, *kaula-warak*, whose totemic place is also at Blue Mud Bay.

The Man, Wanamungaria, of Blue Mud Bay

[614] The complete design on this *jiritja* pipe refers to the fresh-water swamps, the sandy beach, the rocks near the shore, the open sea, and a mythical man, *Wanamungaria*, all belonging to the *malarapa* clan country of Blue Mud Bay. The pipe is divided into two sections, the symbols on panel *a* picturing the swamps, and on the other, *d*, the sea, its creatures and the canoe of the mythical man, *Wanamungaria*.

Panel *a* of Fig. 614 is a fresh-water swamp covered with water-lilies, *jouku* (unidentified). The designs, *c*, are the leaves, and *b* the bulbs. The parallel lines, *d*, indicate the beach which separates the swamp from the sea. The lower panel, *k*, pictures the coast and the open sea. At *e* is an engraving of the canoe of *Wanamungaria*, with the four paddles lying in the bottom. The canoe has since been transformed into a large rock, *j*, on the sea coast. The lines *f* represent the open sea, *g* a dugong, and *h* a queen fish.

The Wrecked Canoe at Port Bradshaw

177 ●276 *532 In recent years, during a heavy storm, a large outrigger canoe, possibly from Papua, was cast up on the shore between Cape Arnhem and Port Bradshaw.[82] The designs on the canoe inspired one of the *jiritja* men to engrave this pipe.

Fig. 638 was covered, for most of its length, with triangles resembling the cloud symbols used on the *jiritja* paintings of the Cape Arnhem and Port Bradshaw aborigines. Both these and the meandering designs at the end of the pipe are supposed to be a copy of those the artist saw on the canoe. This is the only example in my collection of Arnhem Land art about which the artist was unable to explain the meanings of the symbols he used.

The Yam, Trial Bay

*632 I did not gather any other details about the mythological story associated with this pipe, Fig. 630, except that it belonged to the yam totem of Trial Bay.

82. The aborigines believe that these canoes are sent to them by the inhabitants of the *jiritja* 'heaven', Nalkuna. Myth, p. 331.

[text continues on p. 400]

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OII7 Murngin OII7

The yams are engraved in panel *a*, and their foliage indicated by the decorative chevron-like designs at *b* and *c*. The pattern *d* on the upper right, with a meandering line down the centre, is a small fresh-water stream near the totemic place.

The Man, Tualpa, and the Sacred Tree of Blue Mud Bay

This painted pipe represents a sacred tree which once grew on the shores of Blue Mud Bay. One day a man (unnamed), not knowing that the tree was sacred, cut it down to make a special spear, called *bunungara*. *Tualpa*, the owner of the tree, was so angry over the vandalism that he speared the culprit. The dead tree now lies at the mouth of a lagoon emptying into Blue Mud Bay. During the wet season it is submerged by the fresh water flowing from the swamps into the sea. When the swamps are dry, the log is sometimes covered by the high tide.

The transverse bands, *e*, *e*, on Pl. 128B represent the tide marks on the tree; the cross-hatched panel, *a*, the fresh water; and *b*, *c* and *d*, the sea-water, which during the dry season alternately covers and uncovers the tree-trunk.

The Four Jiritja Men of Melville Bay

During *bumun* (creation times) four *jiritja* men,[83] *Djamburi*, *Wanatpi*, *Dandarunga* and *Kainoltja*, created a number of natural features at each of their camps along the shores of Melville Bay.

Plate 128A is the complete design of the painted pipe; *a* is *Djamburi*, *b* is *Wanatpi*,[84] *c* *Dandarunga* and *e* *Kainoltja*. Each of these men is smoking a pipe. The four squares at *f* are four wells, each man having his own. Their footprints are in panel *e*.

3. BODY PAINTING[85]

In north-eastern Australia the art of body painting is most important, for it is by means of the designs painted on the novices during the various age-grading ceremonies, and on the fully initiated men whilst engaged in their totemic rituals, that the totem, the clan group, *mala*, and the linguistic group, *mata*, of each individual can be recognized. As far as the present evidence goes (the investigation is far from complete) it seems that each *mata*, which may include several *mala*, has its own specific design, which is the personal property of that group and cannot be used by any other.[86] During the circumcision ceremonies[86]

83. It is the mythical men of the *jiritja* moiety only who smoke. It is of interest to notice that the four men depicted on this pipe are not smoking the long Malay pipe, but one which resembles those used by our own party, called by the aborigines *Baipai* pipes. Nowadays all aborigines smoke, but a member of one moiety will not use a pipe decorated with the designs of the opposite moiety without the owner's permission. If he did so, the spirit of the pipe would make him ill.

84. See bark painting of *Wanatpi*, Pl. 95B.

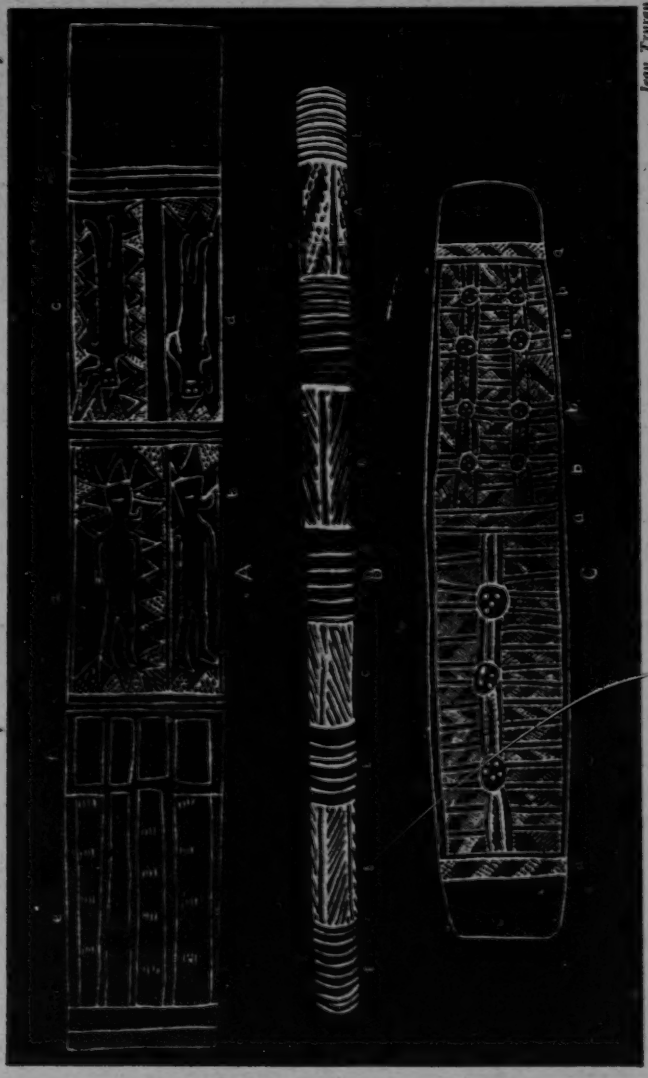
85. See myth of the origin of the design of the crabs, *gunjun*, p. 298.

86. In north-eastern Arnhem Land the boys are circumcised when they are from six to eight years of age.

[text continues on p. 402]

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Muragin OI17

276
*532
*793
293



Jean Traun

PLATE 128. Painted pipes and ceremonial object, Yirrkalla

A The four jiritja men of Melville Bay B The man, Tualpa, and the sacred tree C The geese, wurumalji

coffin. The short lines around the skeleton are the maggots deserting the body and burying themselves in the ground to pupate. The two men are now water-birds; the coffins, the paper-bark wrappings of the corpse and the body of *Buma-buma* are natural features at Wialpa.

The Night-bird, Karawak, and the Opossum, Marungo

During creation times the night-bird, *karawak*, flew from Milingimbi to a hollow tree at Cape Shield, Blue Mud Bay, so that he could talk to the opossum, *marungo*, who lived in it.[52]

At specified times, the aborigines associated with the night-bird and opossum totems carve a stick, similar to that illustrated on Fig. 65A, B, and send it to the clan and language groups on whose territory *karawak*, rested on his way to Cape Shield. The presentation of this stick is an invitation to attend the ceremonies at a specified time and place.[53]

Figure 65A,-B represents the hollow tree at Cape Shield on the top of which, every night, the night-bird and the opossum talk to each other. The day-time camp of the opossum is represented at *e*, *e*, and the night camp at *f*, *f*.

On Fig. 65A, the opossum on the left is ascending the tree at nightfall to keep his companion company, and on the right he is descending to sleep through the hours of daylight. The designs at *a*, *b*, *c* and *d* symbolize water-lilies which grow in the swamps near the totemic tree, and the short lines at the bottom of Fig. 65B, the scratches made by the opossum in the bark of the totemic tree as he climbs up and down.[54]

(2) Oenpelli

Figure 67B is a message stick an aboriginal, *Miljirina*, at Oenpelli asked me to deliver to his friend, *Jakinuramilja*, in Darwin.

The line *a* is *Miljirina*, the sender of the stick, and the line *b* the recipient, *Jakinuramilja*; *c* is *Tundara*, one of *Miljirina's* wives, and *d*, another wife, called *Marinja*. The lines *e* and *f* each represent a bottle of tobacco. *Miljirina* wanted his friend, *Jakinuramilja*, to induce his two wives, *Tundara* and *Marinja*, to come back to him at Oenpelli; he also wanted two bottles of tobacco.[55]

Figure 68B is the message stick carried from an aboriginal, *Kainarani*, at Oenpelli to his son, *Kundi*, in Darwin. The sender was distressed because his son had been drinking heavily, and was urging him to return to his father and

52. For the complete myth, see p. 502.

53. Warner (1937), p. 502, mentions that at Milingimbi similar *garrawak* message sticks are carried to both clan and *yirrija* groups notifying them that the *narra* rituals are about to start.

54. The symbolism employed on the bark painting of the night-bird and the opossum, Pl. 115E, is similar to that used on the message stick.

55. Tobacco was traded in small bottles. When we were at Yirrkalla the mission authorities at southern Groote Eylandt discontinued the issue of tobacco. After that prohibition, there was a regular trade in bottles of tobacco between the expedition camp and the Groote Eylandt Mission. The tobacco followed the same lines as in the ceremonial trade cycle described by Thomson (1949).

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
OI17 Murngin OI17

134 humus are swept into the swamps or out to sea. The residue
132 from this fierce erosion is the typical clay, gravel, and stone of Arnhem Land. Nevertheless, with the first cloudbursts, the harassed country makes an astounding recovery. In an
137 incredibly short time a thick growth of high coarse grass
136 covers the rocky hills and sandy valleys, yams spring to life on gravel slopes, and animal and bird life is rejuvenated; red kangaroos, agile wallabies, opossums, mice, snakes, goannas, emus, jungle fowls, ducks, geese, spoonbills, herons, brolgas, and many more in kind grow fat and lazy from the
132 lavish hand of nature. But the vicious circle is not to be avoided. Winds swing back to the south-east and the nightmare of poverty again creeps over the land.

123 Exploring in the north-east brought us into contact with most of the scattered hordes so frequently referred to as the 'Killers of Arnhem Land'. In early September we were in the English Company's Islands, with the crew on the look-out for Yulengor; and when they saw a thin column of smoke on a beach, conjecture was rife as to who was in the camp. A dozen men and boys paddled out in their big dug-out canoes and came aboard somewhat diffidently. However, they were soon squatting round the hatch exchanging news with the crew, all the time passing the one
● [276] and only bush pipe backwards and forwards and drawing deeply the first tobacco smoke they had tasted for months. Most of them were strong and well developed, with bushy hair, but not too clean. As a concession to the white man
[291] they had donned strips of bark on string waistbands. They were reserved, but interested in all we did, and gladly accepted a couple of tomahawks, wire for fish-spears, and fish-hooks.

628 After the visitors had cast-off in their canoes, a crew-boy
684 mentioned that our visitors had just returned from killing a
682 man in revenge for the death of another in the hills behind our anchorage. It was a long story of intrigue and murder,

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
OI17 Murngin OI17

283 made on the same principle. Three men each take a length of fibre. They twist them and pass them one to another to form a single length of rope. As the rope lengthens it is passed over the limb of a tree and held taut by a fourth man.

286 415 [237] [531] Woven pandanus dilly-bags are pleasing and effective examples of artistic workmanship. Sacred bags are small, but beautifully woven, and are adorned with parrot feathers or fur and sometimes totemically painted. Women make most of them and some are so closely woven that they hold water. The majority, however, are large work bags which hang down their backs and are used to carry yams, shells, roots, and small animals. Another bag is made from string, is similar to the well-known onion bag, and will hold thirty or forty pounds of yams.

292 285 293 [513] The curious 'nganmara' is peculiar to Arnhem Land. It is a house, an umbrella, a garment, a shelter from the wind and rain, a mat on which to sleep, and it is conveniently carried under the arm. This conical straw umbrella mat is woven from pandanus palm; it is circular, with an apex two feet high, and gives some slight protection from sun, wind, or rain. When the nganmara is thrown open on the ground a woman and child can be completely hidden under it. I first saw an nganmara when I was on the King River, where the woman who had it was hunting with her friends. When I asked her to show me the mat under her arm, she calmly handed me the nganmara, which was her only clothing. Knowing that strangers were in the camp, some of the women had politely donned leafy twigs, but this lady relied on her nganmara and deftly swung it from under her arm.

276 [237] In west Arnhem Land, tobacco pipes are made from large crab claws. More elaborate pipes are also made by boring the pithy centre from a soft jungle shrub and plugging

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
OI17 Murngin OI17

one end with bark. A hole is made in the side of the tube for a piece of curved tin or a thimble to hold the tobacco. Birds, animals, or men are sometimes carved or painted on the stem. As a special favour a man will promise a pipe to a friend when it is worn out, and after months of constant use, when the pipe is saturated with nicotine, the presentation is made. The recipient proceeds to crush the frail tube and scrape its interior for the handful of nicotine shavings; other men gather, a pipe is filled with the moist shavings, and with a coal on top it is passed from one to another. It is customary to draw only once or twice, and everyone fills his lungs with smoke, holds it as long as possible and reluctantly exhales. The mixture is so strong that a whiff of it will cause coughing and the eyes to water.

Clap-sticks and drone-pipes, or 'didjery-doos', are the only musical instruments known to Stone Age men. Drone-pipes are hollow tree-trunks, about four feet long and three inches in diameter, which have been eaten out by white ants. Men blow through them, and the low drumming sound can be heard from camps at night as the people join in the camp-songs. Clap-sticks, or short pieces of hardwood, are beaten together, and make a noise sometimes like the rat-a-tat of a kettle-drum. Nomads are musically inclined; they will sing from dusk till midnight for pleasure, and also in times of sorrow. Myths are transmitted and thoughts are expressed in song. Apart from songs with refrains, well-known theme-songs relate to Yulengor themselves, to camp-sites, sharks, the sea, rain, and canoes loaded with fish.

A 'camp-site' song has words and phrases fitted into the timing according to the fancy of the leader, and is interspersed by humming or the repetition of euphonious phrases. A song might go something like this:

'Coming to a camp' . . . 'men recline and await the women'
'Yanja, Wilama, Wirrwa', etc. (favoured camp-site names)